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304 [845] been reported of the Naman. The motive assigned by Kolb to the custom was the fear of the women that if they were to have intercourse with a man who had not had this operation performed upon him they would bear twins. Most other writers state that its purpose was to increase the swiftness of the man in running!

Finger mutilation, already noticed in the Bushmen, was also common to all the Hottentots, especially among women.[1] It consisted of the removal of one or two joints of the little finger, and sometimes of the first joint of the next finger as well. The reason for this [765 751] custom is doubtful. It has variously been looked upon as a sign of mourning, or, especially in the case of children, as designed to be magically protective. Kolb, Wikar, and other early writers state that [587] it was confined to those women who had married more than once, a fresh joint being cut off before every fresh marriage. There is [856] ample evidence, however, to show that it was also practised on children, even on small babies. The data available are not sufficient to enable us to determine the underlying motive with accuracy. The corresponding custom among the Bushmen, as we have seen, seems to be practised mainly as a protective rite on infants whose immediate predecessors have died, and this may also have been the meaning in some cases of the Hottentot custom, although it is probable that the motive differed in various tribes.

Scarification seems also to have been employed among the Cape Hottentots, and still is among the Naman, in connection with a large variety of ceremonies—boys' puberty rites, hunting rites, remarriage, healing of disease, etc.[2] It consists in a number of small cuts made by the officiating person on the chest of the individual concerned, and the wounds are rubbed with ashes, producing slight permanent scars. The different occasions on which it is practised will be discussed more fully below. The perforation of the nasal septum and of the lobe of the ear for the reception of ornaments is also found, the latter especially being very common.

[1] The relevant literature is summarized by Walk, op. cit., 884 sq.

[2] Walk, op. cit., 884; cf. also Olpp, "Aus dem Sagenschatz der Nama-Khoi-Khoin," 42–4; Wikar, op. cit., 93–4; (Mrs.) A. W. Hoernlé, "The Conception of Inau among the Hottentots," 67–9 *et passim*.

1 [i.e., excision of the left testicle. – Analyst]

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606 various services. He also has to treat his wife's mother with the greatest deference. They are said to be "shy", *sou*, of each other, and he may never look at her when addressing her. In the presence
607 of his wife's brothers also he has to be restrained; he may not, e.g.
587 be quarrelsome, nor may he beat his children and cause them to cry. To his wife's sisters, however, he behaves, according to Mrs. Hoernlé, "much as he would to his wife, and even at the present day intercourse with them is common, if they are unmarried or widowed." A woman, again, "considered her husband's younger brothers as her husbands, and used in the old days to be inherited by one of them." Even now it is customary that after the death of a man his brother takes the widow into his hut, unless she already has grown-up sons and is sufficiently well-to-do to manage her household without assistance.[1]

Remarriage Ceremonies

587 The survivor of a marriage, whether man or woman, is not permitted to remarry until at least a full year has elasped since the death of the other partner.[2] At the new marriage ceremony, whether a widow marries a young man, a widower a young woman, or even a widow a widower, great ritual precautions are necessary, and an elaborate ceremonial is performed. The details of this custom have been carefully recorded by Mrs. Hoernlé.[3]

587 Following upon the regular marriage feast, she says, a special
783 remarriage feast is held. For this a special animal is killed, if possible
784 a sheep, otherwise a goat. The bride and bridegroom enter the new hut specially built for them, seat themselves on a skin on the floor, and await proceedings. They are now in the peculiar state known to the Hottentots as */nau*, during which they are not only themselves in an extremely precarious condition, but are also a source of danger to all other people who have not undergone the same ceremony. Great harm might easily come to them, so that the people of their clan (*sic*) see to it that no one dangerous enters the hut; still less would

[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 23; Schultze, op. cit., 301 sq.; Kohler, op. cit., 345. The existence of the levirate among the Naman was noted as far back as 1762 by Roos and Marais, who state that if a man dies, leaving behind him a wife and children, it is the duty of his eldest surviving brother to take the woman to wife and to bring up her children as his own; but if she has sufficient means to support herself and her children, the brother has the right to decide whether he takes her or not. ("Rapport aan den . . . Heere Rijk Tulbagh," 57.)

[2] Kohler, op. cit., 340.

[3] "Certain Rites of Transition and the Conception of Inau among the Hottentots," *Harvard African Studies*, ii (1918), 75–7.

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anyone who had not himself undergone the ceremony dare to intrude there.

The special animal slaughtered is brought into the hut and skinned there by the old woman attending on the couple. She must herself be a widow who has been remarried, and must further be no relative of either bride or bridegroom. No portion of the animal must leave the hut. A deep hole is made near the hearth fire, which has also become */nau*, and into this hole are thrown the contents of the stomach and the small intestines. Any blood spilled during the skinning must also drop into the hole, which is then filled up and must not be interfered with. The skin of the animal is given to the old woman for her own use; no one else would dare to use it. Once skinned, the animal is cut up, and every scrap of it then cooked, the heart, liver, and other internal organs together with the blood in one pot, the flesh in one or more other pots.

While the meat is cooking, the actual ceremony takes place. The old woman takes a knife (formerly a sharp piece of quartz would always have been used), and cuts both husband and wife first in front, two large gashes in the groin, one on each side, and afterwards behind, two gashes in the sacral region. With a small horn she then cups blood from these cuts, mixes it together, and adds some of the blood of the slaughtered animal. Next she scrapes some dirt from her arm and mixes it with the blood. Finally she rubs the mixture into all the cuts and bumps the two people together so that their blood mingles. They are then considered duly initiated into the ranks of the twice wed.

After this ceremony, the guests coming in to greet the couple give them beads or bracelets or other similar small gifts. The meat of the animal is now ready, and may be eaten by anyone who has previously undergone the same ceremony. Pregnant or menstruating women and their husbands may, however, not come into the hut, otherwise the efficacy of the cutting is lost; while if any unqualified person were to eat of the meat he would die.

Until the wounds are healed, the couple remain */nau*, and may not touch either water or the pots, nor go among the animals. The old woman remains to cook for them outside the hut. When at last the cuts have healed, the man and wife are ceremonially cleansed by the old woman. She smears a mixture of moist cowdung and */naop* (red mineral powder mixed with fat) all over their bodies, allows it to dry slightly, and then with the palm of her hand rolls it off in handfuls.

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off in handfuls. A complete change of clothing must also be made, and the old woman alone is at liberty to use the old sets.

Next the couple are reintroduced to the ordinary tasks of daily life from which they have hitherto been cut off. The wife is taken to milk a cow, the old woman supporting her arm as she does so. Then a visit is paid to the waterhole, where the wife is sprinkled with water and her arms and legs rubbed with mud by the old woman, who also fills her water pot for her. The wife is also reintroduced to cooking. Some meat is cooked on the fire in the hut, which has not been used for this purpose since the day of the ceremonial cutting. The old woman supports her arm while she stirs the contents of the pot, then helps her to lift the pot from the fire. The fire is then removed and a new one kindled. Finally the wife goes to gather wood, again with the assistance of the old woman. From now on she is again free to pursue these normal tasks of her daily life.

The husband has to be reintroduced not only to water but also to the cattle kraal. The night before this takes place some branches of the tamarisk and acacia trees are soaked in water. This water he takes the next day, and with it sprinkles the cattle and sheep. After that he also is free to go about his duties as usual.

The Conception of *!nau*

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This ceremony is a typical example of the many "transition rites" found in Hottentot life, and its details can best be understood against the background of the elements common to all these ceremonies.[1] All periods of crisis in the life of a Hottentot involve his separation from his usual surroundings, his preparation for a new group in society, and, finally, his reception into this group. A person in such a crisis is exposed to danger on every side; he must retire from contact with other people, and take special care of himself. But he is also a danger to other people, and more especially to the animals and other living things upon which the community depends for its livelihood. Hence he is secluded, and must abstain scrupulously from his usual tasks.

Such a person is said to be *!nau*. It is essential that he be initiated, as it were, with the least possible delay into that group of his people

[1] The following description is taken almost verbatim from the analysis made by Mrs. Hoernlé in her important paper, "The Conception of !nau among the Hottentots," pp. 67–9. These transition rites are also referred to, under the name "andersmachen" (i.e. "alteration") by Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 55 sqq., and by Wikar, "Berigt aan den Heere van Plettenberg," 93–4, but their accounts are far less comprehensive.

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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Remarriage ceremonies. So far as I could discover there are no !nau ceremonies connected with the marriage of two people who marry for the first time. But should a widower marry a young woman, or a widow a young man, or even a widow a widower, great precautions are necessary, and the full influence of !nau can be seen at work.

Should a widower be marrying a young girl, a special animal, if possible a sheep, otherwise a goat, is killed for the remarriage feast.[32] This is a special ceremony following upon the regular marriage feast.[33] The bride and bridegroom enter the new hut which has been built for them, seat themselves on a skin on the floor and await proceedings. The fire has become !nau now, and the two people themselves are !nau, and in an extremely precarious condition. Great harm might easily come to them, so that the people of their clan !karesin for them, and see to it that no one dangerous enters the hut. Still less would any one who had not undergone the ceremony himself dare to intrude there.

The special animal which has been slaughtered is brought into the hut and skinned there. No portion of it must leave the hut. A deep hole is made near the fire and into this the contents of the stomach and the small intestines[34] are thrown. The hole is then filled up and must not be interfered with. Any blood that may be spilled during the skinning, must also drop into the hole. Meantime the old woman[35] who is to do the operation on the couple is in attendance, and must herself be a widow who has been re-married and is now long past childbearing. Further she must not be a relative of the couple. The skin of the animal is given to this old woman for her own use; no one else would dare to use it. Once skinned, the animal is cut up in such a way as to leave the pelvic bones intact, as they are to be made use of later. Every scrap of the animal is then cooked, the heart, liver, and other internal organs together with the blood in one pot, the flesh in one or more other pots. While the meat is cooking the actual ceremony takes place. The old woman takes a knife[36] and cuts both husband and wife first in front, [304] two large gashes in the groin, one on each side, and afterwards behind, two gashes in the sacral region. With a small horn blood is cupped from these cuts, mixed together, and some of the blood of the slaughtered animal is added. Next the old woman scrapes some dirt from her arm and mixes it in with the blood. Finally the mixture is rubbed into all the cuts and the two people are bumped together so that their blood mingles.[37] They are then considered as duly initiated into the ranks of the twice wed.

[32] /Gâo ǂâbes ǂâs.
[33] /Gâ-ǂâs.
[34] /Hawâ, "intestinal contents".
[35] The ceremony may be performed equally well by an old man.
[36] Formerly it was always a sharp piece of quartz, //gwâs, which was used on this and similar occasions.
[37] /Ao /ûs, lit. "to throw the blood".

587 After the ceremony, the guests coming to greet the couple, give them beads or bracelets, or other similar small gifts. These presents are called *de oás*."

[784] The meat of the ǂgáo ǂhûm ǂâs is now ready, and may be eaten by anyone who has undergone a similar ceremony, except that pregnant women, menstruating women, and their husbands, may not come to the house where any cutting has been done, otherwise its efficacy is lost. If any unqualified person were to eat of this meat he would die. The newly married couple may eat only of the flesh, not of the pluck.

Until the wounds are healed, and the two persons can be //âm, they remain ǂnau, and may touch neither water, nor the pots, nor go among the animals. The old woman remains to cook for them outside the hut. She herself must eat the flesh of the //aus ("pelvis") and when the bones are quite clean and bare, she ties them together and hangs them up in the rafters of the hut above the fire, where they may get the smoke. According to some informers, they are left there as long as the hut stands; according to others, they are removed later when the fire is renewed, and thrust into the hole of some animal.

When the cuts have healed, the man and wife are cleansed by the old woman in a manner similar to that in which the young girl was cleansed,[1]A complete change of clothing must be made, and the old woman alone is at liberty to use the old sets. Finally the animal's tail is taken, threaded on a //oaub ("sinew") which has been saved from the animal, together with the knuckle bone (ǂnâoxáe) of a hind leg. The whole is tied round the woman's waist. It either remains there until it falls off of itself, or it is taken off after it has become black, and buried with the pubic bones in an animal's hole.

Next the couple must be reintroduced to the ordinary tasks of life. The woman is helped to milk just as the young girl was.[2]She is taken to the water in a similar way, and she must be reintroduced to cooking. Some meat is cooked on the fire, which has not been used for cooking since the day of the ceremony. The old woman supports the bride's arm while she stirs the contents of the pot, and finally helps her to lift the pot from the fire. She then removes the fire and lights a fresh one just as was done for the ǂaxais. When the bride first goes to gather wood, the old woman goes in front of her, striking the ground as she goes with a thorny branch, "to protect the bride from being pricked with thorns." The first pieces of wood gathered must be given to the old woman. Then at last all is well.

The man has to be reintroduced to the cattle kraal as well as to cold water. The night before this ceremony some branches of the dabi "tamarisk," and the //gînab" tree are soaked in water. This water is taken next morning and with it the cattle and

" Lit. "throw in the face".

" Called the Daura Amein by the Dutch.

1 A [See cat. 116, p. 72 – Analyst]

2 A [See cat. 116, p. 74 – Analyst]

3:Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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sheep are sprinkled. After that the man is free to go about his duties *tamás ke ge*, "you are clean" the people say of a person thus freed from the influence of taan." 587

That the Hottentots attach great importance to these ceremonies may be judged from the care with which they still perform them. I made inquiries among people who had been married more than once, and found that in almost every instance the operation had been performed. One old man, /Aráib, had been operated upon three times and had himself performed the operation many times. One instance was cited to me of a woman inland from Walfish Bay who was dying as a result of neglecting to carry out these ceremonies. I went to see her, and certainly she was a terrible spectacle. She was eaten up with disease and died soon after. I failed to enquire how long she had been ill.

Great care is taken to conceal these customs from the white man, and in Bersaba the people professed great indignation at first when they found I knew about the ceremony. "Is that a thing we discuss with white people?" one old woman said. I had been told of the ceremony soon after my arrival in Walfish Bay by an English woman who had been born and brought up among the Hottentots, had a genuine interest in them, and so had their confidence. I should mention here that I have no record of this ceremony among the Hottentots south of the Orange river, and do not know whether they have the custom or not.

Treatment of certain diseases. Schultze[*] has given an admirable account of the Hottentot methods of treating sickness and disease, and has described in detail the surgical methods used in dressing wounds, cupping a patient, etc., but he makes no mention of the ceremonies attaching to some cures or attempted cures. It is this side of the subject which I wish to describe here. Roughly, one might say, all maladies are divided by the Hottentots into two groups. (a) First there is */dáqna*, "sickness" which they regard as due to some misplacement of the internal organs. According to their notions of anatomy these organs have weird ways of wandering about the body. The treatment is massage, to restore each organ to its proper place. In such massage the Hottentots are very highly skilled. (b) The other group of diseases is called by the same name as death, *//ãs*, and it is chiefly for this group that the procedure now to be described is used, though I do not wish to imply that the distinction is clear in the minds of the Hottentots, or that the two methods of treatment cannot be used together. Indeed, for paralysis, a very frequent disease, especially among young children, both methods are always used. A great variety of roots and herbs is employed in the treatment of this second group. Some of the herbs are considered so valuable that journeys are made from tribe to tribe to get them, though 757 753 [64]

[*] The herbs used as medicines and for medicinal purposes, as here, differ from tribe to tribe. The Aráb and the //Ghaub are used by the #Aonin.

[*] L. Schultze, Aus Namaland und Kalahari, p. 311 sqq.

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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thing at his maternal uncle's *!Hêis*, or home, without being blamed for it. He could take, without asking, any of the specially fine animals among his uncle's herds, and the uncle had no redress but to take misformed ugly animals from his nephew's herds. This exchange was called *//nari //as*, and it is still practiced by the Nama to-day.

The only other relationship calling for special notice is that of a man to his relatives by marriage. To his wife's sisters, a man behaved much as he would to his wife, and even at the present day intercourse with them is common, if they are unmarried or widowed. Such relations are the cause of much trouble. A woman considered her husband's younger brothers as her husbands, and used in the old days to be inherited by one of them. In the early missionary records there are numerous instances of a younger brother taking over his elder brother's widow.[13] This practice is, of course, strongly condemned by the missionaries who report these things, and it is interesting to note that the women seem to have taken advantage of the objection on the part of the missionaries to avoid this relationship in some instances.

His wife's mother had always to be treated with the greatest deference by a husband. They were said to be "shy" of one another, and the man might never look at her when speaking to her. There used in the past to be a special form of address between all relatives-in-law, the formal "You" being applied both to the mother-in-law, to the brothers of a man's wife, and to her father, but it is not so used nowadays.

In addition to the strict prohibition against marriage in the sib, a man was not allowed to marry a woman of the same great name as himself, even though she might come from a tribe different from his own. Such a woman would be regarded either as a mother if much older, or as a daughter if younger than the man. Nowadays, this prohibition, too, has ceased to be observed. I have instances in the genealogies, though not many, of such marriages having taken place.

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[13] Cf. Rheinische Missions Berichte, 1856, p. 321; also same Berichte, 1860, p. 21.

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Very little jealousy is found amongst the married people, even although a man sometimes takes himself to the wrong bed at night. The transgressor, if this comes to light, is then punished severely at the command of the chief. 593 837 684

DEATH.

The Kaffirs or Hottentots are very longlived, for most of them, both men and women, reach the ages of eighty, ninety, one hundred, one hundred and ten, one hundred and twenty years and even more[76]). 145

Dead Hottentots are placed in a sitting position and stark naked[77]) into a deep pit, which is then filled in with earth. On top of this is piled a great heap of stones, so that the corpse may not be dug out of the grave by wild beasts and devoured. 764

When someone has died, even if it was only a child three months old, and the corpse has been interred, all the relations up to the third degree must, according to old usage, have the little finger of the left hand chopped off to be laid in the grave with the dead person[78]). If the deceased had during her lifetime possessed many cattle which she bequeathed to some relative such as a sister or daughter, the latter (for this applies only to women) must remove a joint from the little finger of each hand before she may take over the cattle in the absence of a last testament; for a sick person may not give away the slightest thing on his deathbed except to those who would lawfully inherit it. 765 304 428

They are loath to see anybody die, and whenever someone falls ill they accordingly fetch a healer. The latter, apart from a sharp double-bladed little knife and a long bit of iron with a small knob at the end, has absolutely no equipment, not even the least bit of ointment. He comes to the patient, whom he bleeds in the back with his knife; he then applies the glowing bit of iron to the patient's 757

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[76]) This statement is contradicted by most other writers on the burial customs of the Hottentots. As a rule the dead person was wrapped and tied up in the kaross he wore during life, and then buried (Schapera, *op cit.*, 260 ff.)

[78]) The practice of finger mutilation by the Hottentots is confirmed by many later writers, but not in all the details mentioned by Dapper. It appears from the available information to have been observed (a) by women who had lost their husbands, and were wishing to remarry, (b) on children whose immediate predecessors had died young, and whose mothers then performed the operation on them as a protective rite against a similar fate (Schapera, *op cit.*, 72). [587] [751]